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805 For this reason one hour of daylight is as good as another, and it does not matter at precisely what time a thing is done. An "appointment" is too sharp a concept for a people moving with the more deliberate cycles of the stars. "It will take place right now, at about three or five o'clock," a Tepoztecan may say shortly after noon. On the other hand, because the rhythms of the group activity change almost completely with the changes of the season, the months within the year are individual, unique, each with its appropriate festivals, to be anticipated and at last enjoyed. The next year again repeats the sequence and the cadence of the last. Only the irregular occurrence of war breaks up the rhythm of the years and brings about a longer cycle of activity: a slow crescendo of restoration, of anabolism, after sudden catastrophe.

- 462 The daily rhythm of the Tepoztlán man, as contrasted with that of the woman, is more dependent upon the alternation of night and day. Chiefly he works in the fields, or in other outdoor activities (as *arriero*, for example, transporting goods from the railroad to the storekeepers in Tepoztlán), where nightfall ends his labors. A comparatively small number of individuals, those employed in the municipal government, perhaps the storekeepers and a few others, follow a daily schedule dependent upon clocks and watches, and pursue much the same activity throughout the year. But most of the men leave the fields only when the day is over during the busy

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agricultural seasons, while at other times of the year they may be largely or wholly idle. 462
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The daily cycle of activity of the woman, on the other hand, follows much the same course throughout the year, but is not so clearly ended each day by the coming of darkness. While he is led by the cycle of the sun, she is the servant of another cycle—that of hunger and its satisfaction. The woman's practical activities are organized around the preparation of food. Grinding and cooking, she is engaged most of the hours of the day and many of the night. The man fetches wood for the hearth from the mountains, and brings most of the water used from the nearest tank; the rest of the domestic economy is in the hands of the woman. [312]

The day begins while yet the sun is below the horizon. At once five hundred or more fires are kindled by the women of Tepoztlán; the acrid, low-clinging smoke of the pitch-pine kindling rises from the valley. The housewife begins at once to grind maize for the morning *tortillas* and to cook the breakfast dishes. Usually three meals are taken, one at about seven or eight o'clock, another an hour or more after noon, and a third at seven or eight at night. Some people, for whom the night is cool and the bed hard, stir themselves once during the night to eat once more before returning to rest.¹ At every meal *tortillas* are eaten. If times are bad, there may be only beans besides, or perhaps not even beans. When meat is obtainable, it 264

¹ This is hearsay.

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264 is usually prepared as *clemole*, boiled and served with a sauce of *chiles*. This is a favorite breakfast dish.

[556] The wealthier and more sophisticated buy baker's bread for the morning and the evening meals, but eat *tortillas* too. The afternoon meal is much the same; it is likely to be the heaviest meal of the day. Then may be eaten lima beans toasted, or *tortas*, or perhaps chick-peas. Coffee or chocolate, and less commonly milk, may be drunk at any meal.

[272] Intimately, when only the family is present, all sit together on the ground beside the hearth and eat.

[556] (Of course the well-to-do use tables.) If male company

[562] is present, the man sits with the guests and they are served by his wife, who eats alone. After breakfast

512 the man goes to the field, or to his workbench; the wife resumes her domestic labors. The last sound at night, when all other sounds but the braying of *burros* and the barking of dogs have failed, is the slap-slap of the *tortillera* and the subdued, wet, rubbing sound of the maize-grinder.

252 A large share of the woman's life and interests is
 462 taken up with the *metate*, that ancient grinding-stone
 [412] that has not changed in form or function for thou-
 [256] sands of years. For some ten years a small steam mill
 has been in operation in Tepoztlán; to this the women
 may bring their maize to be ground. But that most
 of the maize is, nevertheless, ground on domestic *me-*
 [555] *tates* is due not only to the fact that mill-ground maize

* This is owned and operated not by a Tepoztecan but by a man from Xochimilco, Federal District.

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is more expensive, but to the fact that a woman's status (except among the few sophisticated) is determined in no small degree by her skill and industry at the grinding-stone. She takes pride in her grinding. Differences in skill are tasted in the finished *tortilla*; men even claim to identify the grinding of their wives in the *tortilla* they eat. A woman known to be incompetent or negligent at the *metate* is not a desirable wife.¹ One of the diseases recognized in Tepostlán is *tlancuatlatzihuiztli*, "laziness of the knees." The swelling of the knees which signalizes this affliction is due, not to too much grinding, but to too little; it is thus shown that the sufferer has neglected her work. A woman grinds two or three times a day. On ordinary days the grinding for an average household requires about six hours. But if the men of the household are to go away to work on some distant *hacienda* where, nevertheless, they must feed themselves, the women may be up much of the night grinding the maize for the *itacates* and *clacloyos* which they will take along. And before a *fiesta* the entire night may be spent in grinding for the festal dishes, not only maize for the *tamales*, but also squash seeds and *pitos*.

With grinding, cooking, occasional sewing, a little caring for the children, and finally marketing, the list of practical activities of the woman is about exhausted. Marketing is done every day. Salt, *chiles*, sugar,

¹ Frederick Starr (*Notes upon the Ethnography of Southern Mexico*, p. 35) says that among the Tlaxcalans a bride before marriage passes through a formal ordeal before the women of the neighborhood. This is called *temaitliztli*, "trying the hand." She is required to grind and to make *tortillas*.

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512 and spices, as well as candles, alcohol, and kerosene,
 [443] are rarely bought in quantities; the supply is replen-
 [198] ished almost every day. The storekeepers make up
 little screws of salt and of sugar, to meet the custom-
 ary demand of purchases worth one or a few *centavos*.
 Coming to the stores, and especially to the bi-weekly
 [521] market, the women from all parts of the village meet
 [487] to enjoy gossip and the satisfying ritual of bargaining
 [462] for a price. This is a social opportunity confined to
 the women; a man may make an occasional personal
 purchase, but never buy the household supplies.

512 Between the short rhythm of the day and the long
 805 rhythm of the year falls the intermediate cycle of the
 443 week. Although in places a subdivision of the luna-
 177 tion, this period is everywhere more artificial than the
 others. In Tepoztlán the week has resulted from an
 adjustment of the Aztec market days to the European
 calendar, and from the introduction of the Christian
 Sabbath. Each of the eighteen Aztec "months" of
 twenty days was divided into quarters; on every fifth
 day adult men were required to attend the market
 (*tianquiztli*). These market days were also celebrated
 [527] by games and festivals; they were a sort of compul-
 sory holiday. Such regulations merely placed a legal
 sanction on a system of exchange of goods among the
 Aztec communities which had grown up to bind hun-
 dreds of Indian *pueblos* into economic interdepend-
 ence.

512 No doubt the system of alternating market days in
 805 the valleys of northern Morelos preserves substantial-
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476 of a more cooperative society like the Zuni Indians where, for example, three
594 women of a single household grind corn in unison.

[484] Much of the men's work is also done on an individual basis. It is common to see men working alone in the fields and returning alone in the evening. Similarly, a man will go alone to cut wood, burn charcoal, or transport goods to distant villages. The care of cattle by young men and boys is also frequently done by a single individual, although brothers or cousins sometimes go together. On cattle buying trips to Guerrero, two or three men will go together for mutual protection but each carries on his own business.

• [462] On a number of occasions during the year the entire family may work together on a single project. This occurs sometimes during the corn harvest, but more frequently in picking plums during September and October. The shelling of large quantities of corn for sale also may be done by the whole family. This occurs more often in the smaller outlying barrios where the women are less reluctant to do men's work. Finally, the barrio fiesta generally requires a great deal of cooperative endeavor within the family.

462 The daily division of labor within the household reveals how the family functions
512 as an economic unit. We present in Chart 1 a synchronic record of the activities
594 of each member of a family which we observed for this purpose over a period of
[123] four days. This family is a member of the upper economic group and owns several
[872] plots of land and some cattle. The parents are in their early fifties and the age of
the three daughters ranges from thirteen to twenty-four. Another daughter and a son are away at boarding schools and contribute little to the family in the form of labor. The record was made from March 28 to March 31, 1944, during the dry season when the father had little work in the fields. In addition, the father was slightly ill with chills and fever during part of the recorded period. This was not a disadvantage since it served to keep him at home where his activities could be more readily observed. The picking of *guajes* (acacia pods) fortunately began during this period and gave us an opportunity to record in detail how that work is carried on.

The following record, though covering only four days, shows in detail how the general work patterns operate during this season of the year. The father is at home and does many chores normally done by his wife. His illness does not prevent him [757] from working; in Tepoztlán a man remains in bed only when seriously ill. However, he rests a good deal and reads, which is something the father in our observed family rarely does.

The mother is generally the first to rise and make the fire. She serves the meals, "cures" her husband, visits her mother, and is the only one of the women in the family to take an afternoon nap with more or less regularity. The item "Visits woman," which appears among her activities on Thursday, was listed because she had learned that this woman would visit the boarding school where the absent daughter was studying, and the mother wished to send her daughter a package by this woman.

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CHART 1. A Synchronic Record of the Activities of Each Member of a Tepotecan Family.

Time (March 28) A.M.	Father	Mother	Elder Daughter	Second Daughter	Youngest Daughter
6:00- 6:30	In bed	Rises, makes fire and coffee	In bed	In bed	In bed
6:30- 7:00	Rises, feeds cattle, takes them to pasture	Goes to buy bread, sweeps patio	Rises, sweeps kitchen, prepares utensils	Rises, goes for milk	" "
7:00- 7:30	Drinks coffee	Serves husband and self coffee	Grinds corn, makes tortillas	Drinks coffee, cuts and stores dried fish	Rises, washes, combs hair
7:30- 8:00	Hauls water, shells corn for mules	Resumes sweeping patio	" "	Smooths and folds laundered clothes	Breakfasts
8:00- 8:30	Breakfasts	Combs hair, breakfasts, serves others	" "	Breakfasts	Goes to school
8:30- 9:00	Talks with investigator	Cuts squash for animals, cooks squash, shells corn	" "	Makes beds	At school
9:00- 9:30	Goes to bed	Arranges squash in market basket	Breakfasts	Sweeps porch	" "
9:30-10:00	In bed	" "	Washes dishes	Washes arms and feet, combs hair	" "
10:00-10:30	" "	Goes to market to sell corn and squash	Prepares corn for grinding	Accompanies mother to market to make purchases	" "
10:30-11:00	" "	At market	Prepares and cooks stew	At market	" "
11:00-11:30	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "
11:30-12:00	" "	" "	" "	Returns home, polishes nails	" "

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CHART 1. A Synchronic Record of the Activities of Each Member of a Tepoztecan Family (Cont.).

Time P.M.	Father	Mother	Elder Daughter	Second Daughter	Youngest Daughter
12:00-12:30	Feeds mules	At market	Grinds corn	Talks with recorder	Returns home
12:30- 1:00	Rests	" "	Makes tortillas	Feeds chickens	Does nothing
1:00- 1:30	"	Returns home, prepares lunch	" "	Helps making tortillas	" "
1:30- 2:00	Eats and talks with recorder	Serves and eats	" "	Eats	Eats
2:00- 2:30	" "	" "	Eats	"	Goes to school
2:30- 3:00	Reads prayers	" "	"	Sews	At school
3:00- 3:30	Goes to bed	Hauls water for animals	Washes dishes	"	" "
3:30- 4:00	In bed	In bed	" "	"	" "
4:00- 4:30	" "	Cleans dried gourds	Shells corn, prepares dough	"	" "
4:30- 5:00	Reads prayers	" "	" "	"	" "
5:00- 5:30	In bed	" "	Mends her clothes	"	Returns home
5:30- 6:00	" "	Feeds turkeys	" "	"	Reads
6:00- 6:30	" "	Cuts squash for animals	Knits	"	Talks to friends
6:30- 7:00	" "	Mends blouse	"	"	" "
7:00- 7:30	" "	Goes to visit mother	Grinds corn	Goes for bread	Knits

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CHART 1. A Synchronic Record of the Activities of Each Member of a Tepostecan Family (Cont.).

Time	Father	Mother	Elder Daughter	Second Daughter	Youngest Daughter
P.M.					
7:30- 8:00	In bed	Sits in kitchen, talks with girls	Makes tortillas	Prepares coffee	Knits
8:00- 8:30	Gets up to drink coffee	Serves coffee to family and self	Eats	Eats	Eats
8:30- 9:00	Goes to bed, takes medicine and foot bath	Prepares medicinal drink and foot bath for husband	Wash ^{es} dishes	Knits	Knits
9:00- 9:30	In bed	Goes to bed	Goes to bed	"	"
9:30	" "	In bed	In bed	Goes to bed	Goes to bed
(March 29)					
A.M.					
6:00- 6:30	Rises, feeds cattle	Rises, puts up coffee	Rises, makes fire, sweeps kitchen	In bed	In bed
6:30- 7:00	Drinks coffee	Hauls water, goes for bread	Grinds corn	Rises, goes for milk	" "
7:00- 7:30	Hauls water	Has coffee and bread	" "	Waters plants, has coffee and bread	Rises, washes
7:30- 8:00	Takes cattle to pasture	Goes to wash clothes at <i>laraderos</i>	Makes tortillas	Sweeps, makes beds	Eats
8:00- 8:30	Breakfasts and talks with family	Washes clothes	" "	Goes to pick flowers	Goes to school
8:30- 9:00	Feeds animals	" "	Breakfasts	" "	At school
9:00- 9:30	Looks for carpenter's tools	" "	Prepares beans	" "	" "

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CHART 1. A Synchronic Record of the Activities of Each Member of a Tepostecan Family (Cont.).

Time A.M.	Father	Mother	Elder Daughter	Second Daughter	Youngest Daughter
9:30-10:00	Cuts wood for making chairs	Looks over trees in patio, plans to plant more	Washes dishes	Goes to pick flowers	At school
10:00-10:30	" "	" "	Smooths dirt floor and fills in holes with earth	Washes, combs hair	" "
10:30-11:00	" "	Hauls water for plants	" "	Sews	" "
11:00-11:30	" "	Feeds chickens	" "	"	" "
11:30-12:00	Goes to bed	Washes, combs hair	Grinds corn and makes tortillas	"	" "
P.M.					
12:00-12:30	Continues work on chairs	Prepares lunch	" "	"	Returns home
12:30-1:00	" "	" "	" "	"	Sits in kitchen
1:00-1:30	" "	" "	" "	"	" "
1:30-2:00	Eats	Serves and eats	Grinds corn and makes tortillas	Eats	Eats
2:00-2:30	Rests	Shells corn	Eats	Sews	Goes to school
2:30-3:00	Works on chairs	" "	Washes dishes	Goes to doctor for cure	At school
3:00-3:30	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "
3:30-4:00	" "	Goes to plaza to buy refuse	Kneads	" "	" "
4:00-4:30	" "	" "	"	" "	" "

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CHART 1. A Synchronic Record of the Activities of Each Member of a Tepotecan Family (Cont.).

Time P.M.	Father	Mother	Elder Daughter	Second Daughter	Youngest Daughter
4:30- 5:00	Works on chairs	Goes to plaza to buy refuse	Knits	Goes to doctor for cure	At school
5:00- 5:30	" "	Returns, goes for bread	"	Returns, cuts out dress	Returns home
5:30- 6:00	" "	Visits mother	"	" "	Visits friend
6:00- 6:30	" "	Shells corn	Takes image of Virgin to friend's house	Accompanies eldest daughter	" "
6:30- 7:00	Completes one chair	" "	" "	" "	" "
7:00- 7:30	Cleans up, puts away tools	Prepares supper	" "	" "	" "
7:30- 8:00	Rests	" "	Grinds corn, makes tortillas	Knits	" "
8:00- 8:30	Eats	Serves and eats	" "	Eats	Eats
8:30- 9:00	Goes to bed	Talks in kitchen	Eats	Talks in kitchen	Talks in kitchen
9:00- 9:30	In bed	Mends skirt	Washes dishes	Goes to bed	Goes to bed
9:30	" "	Goes to bed	Goes to bed	In bed	In bed
(March 30)					
A.M.					
5:30- 6:00	Rises, feeds cattle	Rises, makes fire and coffee, sweeps patio	In bed	Rises, sweeps corridor	" "
6:00- 6:30	Drinks coffee, hauls water	Takes cattle to pasture	Rises, works in kitchen	Goes for milk	" "
6:30- 7:00	Hauls water	Takes cattle to pasture, shells beans	Makes tortillas, grinds corn	Makes beds	" "

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CHART 1. A Synchronic Record of the Activities of Each Member of a Tepotecan Family (Cont.).

Time	Father	Mother	Elder Daughter	Second Daughter	Youngest Daughter
A.M.					
7:00-7:30	Hauls water	Takes cattle to pasture, shells beans	Makes tortillas, grinds corn	Breakfasts	Rises, washes, combs hair
7:30-8:00	Breakfasts	Breakfasts	" "	Feeds chickens, trusts one	Breakfasts
8:00-8:30	Hauls more water	Shells corn for mules	Breakfasts, washes dishes	Goes to buy beans for Lent	Goes to school
8:30-9:00	Looks for tools to pick guajes	Helps look for tools	" "	Cleans beans	At school
9:00-9:30	Makes new handles for ax and hoe	Waters plants	Cleans kitchen	Washes feet, combs hair	" "
9:30-10:00	" "	Prepares stew	Washes feet, combs hair	Changes dress	" "
10:00-10:30	" "	Picks over plants, shells corn, takes it to market to sell, washes clothes on way,	Goes to church	Goes to church with sister	" "
10:30-11:00	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "
11:00-11:30	" "	prepares lunch	" "	" "	" "
11:30-12:00	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "
P.M.					
12:00-12:30	" "	" "	" "	" "	Returns home
12:30-1:00	" "	" "	" "	" "	At home
1:00-1:30	" "	" "	Grinds corn, makes tortillas	Helps prepare meal	" "
1:30-2:00	Eats	Serves and eats	" "	Eats	Eats
2:00-2:30	Continues work with tools	Combs hair	" "	Cuts out blouse	Goes to school

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CHART 1. A Synchronic Record of the Activities of Each Member of a Tepotecan Family (Cont.).

Time	Father	Mother	Elder Daughter	Second Daughter	Youngest Daughter
P.M.					
2:30- 3:00	Continues work with tools	Visits mother	Grinds corn, makes tortillas	Cuts out blouse	At School
3:00- 3:30	" "	" "	Eats	Goes to bed	" "
3:30- 4:00	" "	Goes to bed	Washes dishes	Sews	" "
4:00- 4:30	" "	In bed	" "	"	" "
4:30- 5:00	" "	Selects leaves for tamales	Eats	"	" "
5:00- 5:30	Goes to bed	Visits woman	"	Goes to church for Rosario	Returns home
5:30- 6:00	Continues work	" "	"	" "	At home
6:00- 6:30	" "	" "	"	" "	" "
6:30- 7:00	Picks guajiv	" "	Goes to get image of Virgin	Sews	" "
7:00- 7:30	" "	Gathers guajiv	Grinds corn	Lights candles	" "
7:30- 8:00	Eats	Serves and eats	Lies down with headache	Eats	Eats
8:00- 8:30	Talks with family	Talks, washes dishes	In bed	Talks with family	Talks with family
8:30- 9:00	Goes to bed	" "	" "	" "	" "
9:00- 9:30	In bed	Goes to bed	" "	Goes to bed	Goes to bed
(March 31)					
A.M.					
5:00- 5:30	Rises, feeds cattle	Rises, picks guajiv	" "	In bed	In bed

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CHART 1. A Synchronic Record of the Activities of Each Member of a Tepostecan Family (Cont.).

Time A.M.	Father	Mother	Elder Daughter	Second Daughter	Youngest Daughter
5:30-6:00	Picks guajes	Picks guajes	Rises, sweeps	In bed	In bed
6:00-6:30	" "	" "	Grinds corn, makes tortillas	Rises, goes for milk	Rises
6:30-7:00	" "	" "	" "	Picks guajes	Combs hair, washes
7:00-7:30	" "	" "	" "	" "	
7:30-8:00	" "	" "	" "	Breakfasts	Breakfasts
8:00-8:30	Breakfasts	Breakfasts	Breakfasts	Picks guajes	Goes to school
8:30-9:00	Picks guajes	Picks guajes	Washes dishes	Makes beds, sweeps	At school
9:00-9:30	" "	" "	Bathes feet	Sews	" "
9:30-10:00	" "	" "	Goes to church	"	" "
10:00-10:30	" "	" "	" "	"	" "
10:30-11:00	" "	" "	" "	Shells corn	" "
11:00-11:30	Feeds cattle	" "	" "	Sews	" "
11:30-12:00	Picks guajes	" "	" "	"	" "
P.M.					
12:00-12:30	" "	" "	Grinds corn, makes tortillas	"	" "
12:30-1:00	" "	" "	" "	"	" "
1:00-1:30	" "	Prepares lunch	" "	"	Returns home

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CHART 1. A Synchronic Record of the Activities of Each Member of a Tepomecan Family.

Time P.M.	Father	Mother	Elderest Daughter	Second Daughter	Youngest Daughter
1:30- 2:00	Eats lunch	Serves and eats	Eats	Eats	Eats
2:00- 2:30	Picks guajes	Sorts guajes	Washes dishes	Goes to cousin's house to bathe	Does school work
2:30- 3:00	" "	" "	" "	" "	Goes to school
3:00- 3:30	Waters cattle	" "	Shells corn	Picks guajes	At school
3:30- 4:00	Picks guajes	" "	" "	" "	" "
4:00- 4:30	" "	" "	Irons clothes	" "	" "
4:30- 5:00	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "
5:00- 5:30	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "
5:30- 6:00	" "	" "	" "	" "	Returns home
6:00- 6:30	" "	" "	" "	" "	At home
6:30- 7:00	Sorts guajes	" "	" "	Fixes dress	" "
7:00- 7:30	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "
7:30- 8:00	Eats	Irons clothes	Makes tortillas	Lights candles	" "
8:00- 8:30	Talks with wife	Eats	Eats	Eats	Eats
8:30- 9:00	Goes to bed	Talks with daughters	Washes dishes	Talks with mother and sisters	Talks with mother and sisters
9:00- 9:30	In bed	Goes to bed	Goes to bed	Goes to bed	Goes to bed

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462 The eldest daughter is also an early riser. She does not pick *guajes* with the
 512 others, but instead takes over her mother's task of ironing. Her daily routine
 594 changes little throughout the year and is broken only by knitting or going to church.
 She frequently lies down in the afternoon because of a headache.

The second daughter does a variety of work, much of which is pleasurable, like going to the plaza or picking flowers. She spends much more time on her personal appearance than does her elder sister.

The youngest daughter always rises last and leaves for school without doing chores as other girls of her age commonly do. Her day is principally devoted to school and varies little during the school year.

The record also reveals some interesting details concerning the division of labor among the women. Limiting ourselves to a discussion of the mother and the two older daughters, we find that their activities fall under the following categories: housework, farm work, marketing, sewing and knitting, and church attendance. Table 12 summarizes the number of hours spent by the women of this family on each of these activities during the four days we observed them.

TABLE 12. HOURS Spent by Women of Tepotecan Family at Various Activities During Four-Day Period.

Type of Activity	Hours		
	Mother	Eldest Daughter	Second Daughter
Housework	15	39	9
Farm work	21½	—	8
Trading or selling	8½	—	—
Marketing	3	—	4½
Sewing and knitting	—	5	18
Church attendance	—	7	5½

Of sixty-three hours of housework, forty-eight were done by the daughters, and thirty-nine of these forty-eight hours were done by the eldest daughter alone. She spent approximately five hours each day kneeling at the *metate* or over the *comal*, grinding corn and making tortillas, since this family lives too far from the mill to carry the corn there daily. The second daughter spent on the average of four and one-half hours a day at the sewing machine. This work varies considerably during the year, however, depending upon the fiesta cycle.

The mother's emphasis on farm work is clear, though this also varies with the time of the year. She devotes more time to trading than this four-day record indicates, since she frequently spends one or two full days a week at the Cuernavaca market, where she gets a slightly higher price for her corn and where she can make certain purchases at a lower price. It is interesting to note that although the youngest daughter goes to the plaza twice a day to school, she is rarely asked to do the marketing because the mother and second daughter enjoy this activity and prefer to do it themselves. The mother goes to the plaza once or twice a day and the second

Status Distinctions and Family Organization / 73

daughter four or five times a week. In the four-day period seven and one-half hours were consumed in marketing trips. 462 ●

The daughters spend more time than the mother in sewing and knitting and going to church. These tend to be regarded as leisure activities, and the mother does not indulge in them except when necessary because she "doesn't want to lose time." However, she devotes more time to going to church and to other religious activities than this record indicates. Both sisters, but particularly the eldest, have the reputation of being devout and spend much time going to church. Almost the only occasion for the older girl to leave the house is because of some religious activity. 512
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[517]

In the daily routine the women of the household have many more opportunities of working together than does the family as a whole. They may work together in the kitchen, accompany one another to the plaza as chaperones, and exchange instruction in sewing and knitting. Cooperation is at its highest in preparing fiesta meals, particularly the annual *barrio fiesta*. [476]

The division of labor varies from family to family and depends chiefly upon the number of sons to the number of daughters; the number of grown children to the number of small children; the amount of land, livestock, fruit trees, and other property the family owns; and the ambition and enterprise of the parents.

MARRIAGE

There are three types of marriage in Tepoztlán, namely, *por lo civil* (civil marriage), *por la iglesia* (church marriage), and *uniones libres* (free unions). According to the Mexican Census of 1940 ten per cent of all married couples in Tepoztlán were married by civil law alone, twenty-five per cent by church alone, and fifty per cent by both civil law and church; and fifteen per cent had entered into free unions. To understand the distribution of these types of marriage it must be remembered that since 1928 civil marriage has been obligatory by law. Before that time most people in Tepoztlán married only by church, or lived in free union. Church marriage still carries the greatest prestige and, as in most of Mexico, is considered the only true form of marriage by the majority—but especially by the older folk. Civil marriage is viewed as a preliminary to church marriage; the priest is not supposed to marry anyone who does not have a legal marriage certificate. But marriage by civil law alone is increasing. A study of all Tepoztecan marriages recorded in Tepoztlán between 1941 and 1946 showed that a little over twenty per cent were civil marriages not followed by church marriages. The reasons for this trend will be discussed later. 585
[588]
[582]
[554]

The relatively low status of civil marriage is reflected in the types of people who marry only *por lo civil*: (1) orphaned girls with no family to press for a church marriage; (2) girls who become pregnant before marriage; (3) women who have had one or more children out of wedlock; (4) second marriages; (5) elopements; (6) poor boys who cannot afford a church wedding. In these cases there is an absence of elaborate preparation for the marriage. The couple generally appear 554
[736]
[587]

division of labor: 5

BY SEX

- 462 The division of labor according to sexes is clearly delineated. Men are expected to support their families by doing all the work in the fields; by caring for the cattle, horses, oxen, and mules; by making charcoal and cutting wood; and by carrying on all the large transactions in buying and selling. In addition, most of the specialized occupations, such as carpentry, masonry, and shoemaking, are done by men.
- [868] An important function of the father of the family is to train his sons in the work of men. When a Tepoztecan man is at home, his activities consist of providing the household with wood and water, making or repairing furniture or work tools, making repairs on the house, and picking fruit. Men also shell corn when shelling has to be done on a large scale. Politics and local government, as well as the organization and management of religious and secular fiestas, are also in the hands of the men.

- [868] Women's work centers about the care of the family and the house. They cook, clean, wash, iron clothes, do the daily marketing, shell the corn for daily consumption, and care for the children. Mothers train their daughters in women's work and supervise them closely until their marriage. Many women raise chickens, turkeys, and pigs; and some grow fruit, vegetables, and flowers to supplement the family income. Women do a great deal of buying and selling on a small scale, and they control the family purse. Tepoztecan women are not expected to work in the fields, and Tepoztecan men of both sexes look down upon the women of the neighboring villages who do agricultural work; carry heavy loads of firewood or corn on tump lines, wear men's hats, and generally appear rougher and coarser than do the women of Tepoztlán.
- [241] In general, women's work is less rigidly defined than men's. Many women, especially widows, will do men's work without social censure. In contrast, men almost never do women's work and the few who do are objects of ridicule and are viewed as queer. Men carefully avoid housework of any kind or taking care of small children. Men build a fire and warm their food without compunction only in the fields where there are no women to do it for them. When a wife is ill or other-

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wise incapacitated, the husband will seek out the assistance of a female relative or, even though poor, may hire a servant. Occasionally one hears of a widower or bachelor who cooks and sweeps the house, but never of a man who washes or irons or grinds corn to make tortillas.

Women who have no one to support them may hire themselves out as domestic servants, laundresses, or seamstresses, or may become merchants or itinerant peddlers. The only profession which an educated woman can practice in the village is that of schoolteacher. As yet there is no demand for nurses, secretaries, or other skilled female workers. However, the lack of rigidity in the definition of women's occupations is reflected in the fact that on two occasions in the recent past a woman has held the job of secretary of the local government, a post traditionally filled by a man. Women are also members of religious *hermandades* as well as of the school committee. As a rule, however, women play only a minor part in public activities.

The more recent technological improvements represented by the increased use of the sewing machine, the commercial corn mills, the road, and the bus service have affected the work of women rather than men. The sewing machine and the corn mills save women many long hours of work. Previously women spent from four to six hours a day grinding corn by hand, often rising at four in the morning to prepare breakfast. The time now saved is used in various ways, such as getting more sleep, sewing, knitting, going to church, or visiting more often. In many cases the added leisure has been turned toward gainful pursuits, such as gardening, and raising chickens and pigs for sale. Not being so tied to the *metate*, women are able to leave the house more freely and undertake more extensive commercial activities. The improved communication offered by the road and bus has enabled some women to become merchants who go regularly to sell their produce in the Cuernavaca market.

BY AGE

Age is an important but not a rigid determinant in the division of labor. There are no organizations by age groupings in Tepoztlán which carry out assigned tasks. Most skills are learned within the family, beginning at an early age. However, in cases where a skill is learned outside of the family, apprenticeship begins in the late teens. The age at which men vote, begin guard duty, and do public collective labor, as well as enter the army, is determined by local or national law. By custom, men are not eligible for public office nor do they take part in political life until after marriage. Old people continue to work as long as they are physically able, and death is preferred to an incapacitated old age.

Children learn to work slowly and, with few exceptions, the belief that heavy labor will weaken a growing child governs the amount of work parents expect from their offspring. Boys are more carefully guarded in this respect than girls, since their labor in later life is considered harder and more important. At about the time they enter school, about age five, both boys and girls begin to do simple tasks in the house. As they get a little older they are generally glad to run errands

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243 The harvesting of corn, like all other operations in agriculture, is done on an
 476 individual family basis, with hired help if necessary. There is a minimum of labor
 114 exchange and cooperation. Our findings differ from those of Redfield. Redfield
 writes:

The men always work in groups; the owner of the field has asked them to help him—it is *cuatequil*—and then when their fields are ripe he will help them harvest. These are social occasions. Each group has *la mula*, "the little mule"—a bottle of alcohol hidden under a pile of corn. The preparation of their dinner is also done cooperatively at the house of the owner of the field, and this is a social occasion for the women. They carry the dinner to the fields for the men. The owner of the fields supplies the food and drink. But there the cooperative harvesting ends, for the removal of the grain is done separately in each individual house, each member of the family taking a hand.²²

This account refers to a type of cooperation which does not now exist in Tepoztlán, and our informants did not remember its having existed in 1926 or even before the Revolution of 1910. Corn is shelled by both men and women.

243 Women generally shell corn by hand in small quantities for daily use in the house
 462 and for small-scale trade. Large-scale shelling by the *carga* is generally done by
 [42] the men who use an *elotero*, which is made of dry corncobs bound together in the
 [62] form of a flat disc, over which the corn to be shelled is rubbed. Some use the
 black volcanic rock from the *texcal* for shelling. However, the corn selected for
 seed is shelled by hand by the men. Women of the two upper barrios of San
 Pedro and Los Reyes frequently shell corn on a large scale, whereas in the larger,
 center barrios, large-scale shelling is considered a man's work. In many cases
 peones are hired for this job. The shelled corn is stored in sacks, for the most part,
 251 although there are still a few of the old *cuescomatl*. (See Fig. 28.) Many families
 [825] put the skeleton of a dog's head or a piece of *ocote* wood and lime in the sacks or
 [824] the *cuescomatl* to protect the corn against spoilage. Formerly when *cuescomatls*
 [788] were made, the priest would be called to bless them. There is a belief that when
 [761] a death occurs, the corn in the house or on the house site will be more subject to
 the ravages of insects.

[242] The loss of stored corn from insects is one of the serious problems faced by
 Tepoztecos. Many farmers complain that they lose a few *cargas* a year in this
 fashion. It is rare to find corn that lasts through to August without being seriously
 damaged by corn worms. Tepoztecos have still received little help with this prob-
 lem from Mexican agronomists.

243 An old tradition persists in the village to the effect that the boa constrictor was
 825 formerly used to prevent stealing of corn from the cornfields and the granary. It is
 231 said that the snake was fed salt and *tequesquite* by the owner of the field, and that
 thereafter the snake would frighten all strangers by climbing up the cornstalk
 and making a whistling noise. These snakes were apparently tame and did not
 harm the owner, but would attack strangers. There seems to have been some

²² Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, pp. 126-27.

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supposed to refuse her husband's request for money and may receive a beating or scolding if she does. A wife will refuse her husband money when she suspects that it is for drink or for another woman. 594
[183]

Wives are in a position to do a great deal of secret spending, borrowing, and paying back, which gives them a considerable source of added independence. Wives are also free to sell small quantities of the family corn or their own chickens or eggs, and to use the cash whenever they see fit. Although wives are supposed to get the permission of their husbands before going to see a doctor or *curandero*, visiting, or buying and selling in quantity, the frequent absence of the husband from the house permits the wife to do many of these things without his knowledge. [484]

A few men, in an effort to control family affairs, keep their earnings and dole out small daily sums to their wives. Such men are considered very undesirable as husbands. They are called *cuilchilete*, or men with very long penes, and are said to be miserly. Even in those cases where the husband holds the funds, the wife always has an immediate source of cash from selling corn. Some husbands attempt to secure independence by withholding part of their earnings. This leads to quarrels, however, because wives generally know the exact amount of a husband's earnings, and they feel justified in demanding all the money. The fact that the husband often spends the money on drink puts him at a further disadvantage; the wife may then accuse him of wasting it, of not caring whether his family eats, etc. Wives in such situations may complain to the mother-in-law, or in extreme cases to the priest or *padrino* of marriage, who will invariably advise the husband to relinquish all his earnings. [831]
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In contrast to the wife's central role within the home, the husband's actual participation in family and household affairs is minimal. His work, with the exception of hauling water and making occasional repairs in and around the house, is outside the home. The division of labor is clear-cut, and the husband, except in emergencies, never does anything in connection with the house or children. For the majority of men, the home is a place where they have their physical needs attended to. Men are away from home a good part of the day, and sometimes for several days at a time, depending upon their work and the season of the year. 594

The history of Tepoztlán has been such that men frequently were forced to leave the village for long periods, and it is interesting to speculate on the effect of this on family life. We know that many Tepoztecs had to work in the mines of distant Taxco and on faraway haciendas during the early sixteenth century. This pattern continued in modified form throughout the colonial period and until the Revolution. Before the Revolution, large numbers of men worked on the neighboring haciendas and returned to the village only once every two weeks. Even today, about 150 men work on the haciendas during four to six months of the dry season, returning home once a week. With the husband away, the wife was not only head of the family but also often had to find means of supporting herself and the children until his return. [462]
[177]

Perhaps more important than a husband's absence from the home is his behavior 593

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More and more women are undertaking to contribute to the support of their families, even when the husband is a relatively good provider. Women traditionally raise a few chickens and pigs, and some now grow fruit trees, to earn money. Men recognize this type of activity as necessary. Some poor men blame their inability to get ahead on the fact that their wives are inept at earning or saving money, or that their wives refuse to raise chickens and pigs because they dirty up the patio and are too much trouble. One attitude, sometimes expressed among married women, is, "Why should I work? That is what I have a husband and sons for." However, many wives try to earn enough so as not to depend upon their husbands entirely for food and clothing, because "the men are too miserly to spend much on these things." The more capable women are able to earn enough to aid their husbands substantially. Without exception, every man who has been able to improve his economic situation since the Revolution has done so with the help of his wife; and in all the more prosperous homes the wives are known to be unusually capable and industrious.

Several fairly recent social and economic changes which have occurred in the village have affected the roles of women. Women have been more affected than men by such technological changes as the building of the road, the establishment of bus service to Cuernavaca, and the introduction of the corn mills. These changes have also affected the relations between husbands and wives. Women began to patronize the corn mills over the objections of their husbands, and the success of the mills was described by a male informant as the result of "the revolution of the women against the authority of the men." The corn mills have given women from four to six additional hours a day to devote to other activities. Since women are not so tied to the *metate* now, they are able to leave the house more freely and can undertake more extensive business activities.

An increasing number of more ambitious married women are now raising animals or growing fruit on a larger scale or are devoting more time to selling the family produce at the Tepoztlán and Cuernavaca markets. However, husbands tend to balk at the latter activity and do not easily give their wives permission to go to Cuernavaca, despite the fact that the extra earnings would be welcome. This type of work has, in the past, been carried on exclusively by widows or older unmarried women who "had no man to control them." Many of these women are known for their promiscuity, and they and their occupation have little status. In addition, men tend to associate going to Cuernavaca with going to meet a lover and do not permit their wives to go alone. Husbands also fear that people will say they can no longer support or control their wives if they go out to work. The fear of giving the wife more freedom, as well as the recognition of the threat to the man in his role as provider, outweighs the obvious economic advantages, and most men prevent their wives from earning as much as they might.

Another factor which has affected husband wife relations is the increased independence of young couples, who now seek to set up separate households soon after marriage. In the past, when wives often lived for many years with their mothers-in-

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training begins, children are sometimes spanked. More occasion arises for spanking during and after weaning and after the birth of another sibling. Most parents believe it is important to punish a child when young, and some children receive their first severe beatings at three or four years of age. 593 861

For example, I saw a three-year-old boy beaten with a switch by his father. The boy had been annoying the father while he was cleaning beans. When the father scolded the boy sharply, he began to cry. Because the boy refused to stop crying, the father went over to a bush, tore off a long thin switch and beat him hard. The mother, who was also cleaning beans, paid no attention. The boy did not go to the mother, but ran off to the corral where he sobbed quietly for a long time. Beatings of this sort are rare before five years of age.

Fathers usually punish with a beating, using a stick or a rope. Mothers also sometimes do this, but more often they hit with their hands, or they may slap, pinch, kick, shake, or even throw a stone or two at the offending child. Sharp scolding, calling names, not being allowed to play, being put to work at something unpleasant, and being put out of the house and denied food are other ways of punishing.

In the themes entitled, "My Worst Punishment," written for us by children in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades in school, we learned of several other types of punishment. One boy wrote that he was severely beaten with a rope and then tied up all night by his mother for having grumbled too much. Another was not allowed to lie down and go to sleep when he wanted to. Not being bought new clothes or not being taken to fiestas are considered severe punishments by girls, and both boys and girls mentioned that they did not like to be scolded or shamed before others. Occasionally a boy is punished by having to do work ordinarily done by girls, such as carrying corn to the mill. It is particularly embarrassing for an eleven- or twelve-year-old boy to stand in the long queue of women and girls to wait his turn at the mill. Girls who are incorrigible may not be permitted to leave the house for a week or two. [124]

Both boys and girls are punished for disobedience, for breaking or losing things, for grumbling or rudeness, or for doing things without permission. Girls are more often punished for coming home late from school or from an errand, and for mistreating young brothers and sisters or other children. Punishment for these offenses is usually quite severe. Boys are more often punished in connection with their work of taking care of the animals; they are beaten for playing when they should be watching the animals, for losing animals, or for bringing them home late. Small boys often have difficulty in handling oxen and cows and may be punished for acts they could not avoid. Boys are also often punished at home and at school for absenting themselves from school to go swimming. [162]

Physical punishment still occurs in the school, although there is a law forbidding it. It is much less severe than in the past and consists of slapping, pulling hair or ears, and hitting with a ruler. I saw one teacher instructing her third-grade class with a switch in her hand, which she occasionally used against the legs of some inattentive child. Beatings with a switch are relatively rare and are applied only to 976

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842 tion, although very secretive, is not uncommon, and it is said that many women
[847] take medicine to make themselves sterile. Abor-

In sharp contrast to women, men in Tepoztlán prefer large families and are outspoken in their desire to have many sons to help them. In many husband-wife relations there is an underlying struggle in which the wife tries to limit the number of pregnancies against the protests of her husband. If conception does not take place within a reasonable length of time, husbands may suspect their wives of taking medicine to prevent it. Failure to conceive may be sufficient cause for abandonment, and in the few cases in which women were known to have prayed for a child the motive almost always was to please the husband. Men show little interest in learning methods of birth control, and it is highly improbable that many husbands would practice it or permit their wives to.

The differences in the attitudes of men and women toward having children stem from several factors. Men often marry at a more mature age and when they feel ready for marriage, but girls marry quite young, and often as a result of pressure from their suitors or their parents or because of pregnancy. Men frequently marry for the purpose of raising a family; women, except when they are pregnant, usually marry for motives entirely unrelated to having children. Unlike women, who become more dependent upon their mother-in-law and husband at the birth of a child, men acquire a new independence and a more respected status as *padre de familia*. Becoming a mother does not in itself improve a woman's status, nor is there any perceptible change in the treatment of wives during pregnancy. As one informant put it, "A good husband will continue to be good when his wife is pregnant, and a bad one will continue to beat her."

The strict division of labor in Tepoztecán homes, in which the burden of the care of the children in sickness and in health falls upon the mother, is often given as an explanation of the different attitudes of men and women toward having children. "It makes no difference to the men how many children there are. It is the wife who has to see that there is enough for all."

842 Motherhood is not glorified in Tepoztlán. The prevailing prudishness toward
155 sex, as well as the reciprocal respect-relations between parents and children, results
864 in the avoidance of the subject. Most Tepoztecán girls grow up in an atmosphere in which negative attitudes of fear and shame toward motherhood, pregnancy, and even marriage have more opportunity of developing than positive ones. Despite the early assumption of the care of small children and household duties, there is an absence of positive psychological preparation in the training of young girls for the acceptance of motherhood. This is reinforced by the martyr-like attitude of their own mothers toward husbands and children.

842 PREGNANCY

[195] The most common expression to describe pregnancy is "to become ill with child."
[843] Sterility (*yomitziili*) is thought to be due to "cold" in the womb,² and massages

² Sterility is also explained by "cold" in Chan Kom. *Ibid.* p. 181.

[171]

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177 later introduced them to the village. Here we find a process similar in some respects to the case of the enslavement of the Negro in the New World.²⁴

A third factor which conditioned the nature of change in the colonial period was the class structure whereby the Indians or the lower classes were socially isolated from the upper class. This lasted throughout the colonial period and up to the Revolution of 1910.

Another more general factor, which facilitated the diffusion of Spanish culture, was the basic similarities between the native and Spanish colonial cultures. Both were stratified feudal societies, both had a system of communal landholding, in both the religious and social structure was closely interwoven, both had well-developed markets. In addition, they shared many more specific traits, such as the use of flowers with images, pilgrimages to sacred shrines, the use of incense, the concept of lucky and unlucky days, and a host of other items.

Other factors which influenced the diffusion process was the obvious superiority of some Spanish matériel, such as the gun, compared to the bow and arrow; or the tile roof, compared to the thatched roof. Finally, the acceptance of one trait required the acceptance of related traits, as we have seen in some detail in the example of plow culture.

[369] During the nineteenth century most of the changes in the village were in the form of an increasing urbanization of the upper class in the village. However, the more urban culture of this group did not spread widely to the mass of the population primarily because most of the traits were of no practical use and were economically out of their reach. Moreover, unlike the colonial period, there was no new group in the village which stood to benefit by spreading new traits. The only exception to this was a small movement to increase literacy.

● [462] The major characteristics of the acculturation process since the Revolution were the increased contacts with the outside, the breakdown of the internal barriers to social mobility, the increase in wealth. In contrast to the colonial period, in which the work of men was primarily affected, it was the work of the women that was affected in this period, by the corn mills, the sewing machines, and the bus lines.

IMPLICATIONS OF CHANGE

What are the implications of the total findings of this study for administrators, social scientists, and others concerned with the problem of improving life in communities like Tepoztlán? In the first place, it is important to recognize that Tepotecans do not have many of the problems which beset our own modern industrial civilization. In Tepoztlán there is little exploitation of man by man; no single individual or group has power over others. Indeed, the lust for power and prestige motivates few people in this village. Nor are the anxieties and frustrations those which come from living in a highly competitive society, in which the fetish of personal success places a great burden upon the individual.

²⁴ See, for example, Herskovits, *Trinidad Village* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1947).

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the forest resources sharply reduced charcoal production in the village and many families have thereby lost a traditional source of income. Some found work as agricultural laborers on the two or three gladiola farms that have been established in Tepoztlán; others have been employed by the nearby Y.M.C.A. Many more found work in Cuernavaca or as day laborers on road construction.

The changes in the occupational structure of the village have accentuated earlier trends. The number of nonagricultural occupations increased from 26 in 1944 to 33 in 1956 and the number of people engaged in these occupations rose from 273 to 365. This increase has been accompanied by greater specialization and a decline in the role of agriculture in the total economy. In 1944, approximately 70 percent of those engaged in nonagricultural occupations also farmed; in 1956, the comparable figure was only 25 percent! Today there is a much greater participation of women in the nonagricultural occupations than formerly. Women still predominate as teachers, *curanderos*, and corn merchants, but they now are also full-time tortilla makers, dressmakers, and hairdressers. Other new occupations in the village are those of tailor, *ciruela* merchant, and milk merchant. The increase in the number of teachers has been striking—from 21 in 1944 to 101 in 1956, an indication of the growth of a middle class in the village. Whereas formerly there was a shortage of teachers in the village, there is now a shortage of teaching jobs, and 70 Tepoztecos teach in rural schools outside of the village. Other occupations that have shown a large increase in numbers are: bus line employees, from 22 to 35; barbers, from 15 to 22; butchers, from 15 to 32; and storekeepers, from 20 to 64.

The distribution of people engaged in nonagricultural occupations by barrio shows an intensification of the older pattern of concentration in the larger central barrios: La Santísima, 27 percent; Santo Domingo, 25 percent; San Miguel, 23 percent; Santa Cruz, 11 percent; San Sebastian, 8 percent; Los Reyes, 5 percent; and San Pedro, 1 percent. Similarly, 85 percent of those engaged in the new occupations come from the three central barrios. The trend toward barrio differentiation of occupations, however, has been offset by a spread of services from the central plaza to the barrios. Each barrio now has its own corn mill and at least one store. Another interesting and symptomatic change has been the rise in the number of money lenders—from about 6 in 1944 to 18 in 1956. This reflects a much greater need for cash as well as an influx of wealth.

The only occupations that have shown a decline in the number of members since 1944 are those of carpenter, *curandero*, *chirimitero* (flute player), maguery fiber collector, and charcoal maker. The *buebuechiques* (ceremonial barrio officers) have completely disappeared, as I predicted in my earlier study. The *chirimiteros* are being replaced by modern secular musicians. As noted earlier, the decline in charcoal making was forced on the village by the federal authorities.

The most dramatic occupational change and one which has become a major new source of income to the village is the *bracero* movement. In 1948,

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paper with some regularity and none of them were peasants. Magazine reading has increased, however. In 1956, about fifty villagers had magazine subscriptions. About half of these were for *Selecciones*, the Spanish version of the *Readers Digest*; others were for such publications as *Life*, *La Granja*, *La Tierra*, *La Sevilla*. Over a third of the subscriptions were held by teachers and most of the others by persons in nonagricultural occupations. The majority of the subscribers were under fifty, and reading was predominantly done by the men. Except for school teachers and some officials, few people owned books, but many children read comics. 177 204 [875]

Related to the developments noted above are changes in every stage of the life cycle, particularly the rearing of children. Again, most of the changes are found in the middle economic group, and the following discussion of the direction of change applies mainly to this group. Changes are occurring among the tradition-oriented members of the lower groups also, but at a much slower rate. 177 556

Women still prefer to give birth on a *petate* with the help of a midwife, but a doctor is often called in for difficult cases. Many young women are rejecting some of the "Indian" customs and cures of the midwives—the food taboos, for example, the use of smoke to help labor, and the wearing of the *huipil*. Magical practices like burying the first milk or throwing it over the roof are being discarded. Because more babies are being bottle-fed, the druggist now keeps a supply of baby bottles and nipples, as well as of formula mixtures. Young women feel less need to follow such customs as sweatbaths or the forty-day postpartum seclusion before the *sacamisa*. 177 84 [262] [291] [853]

A definite trend toward greater child-orientedness on the part of both parents is evident. Parents tend to be more permissive and more demonstratively affectionate with their young children. More fathers can be seen on the street carrying small children and a few help a little with the children at home. The swaddling of infants has been completely abandoned as "cruel" by some mothers. Parents indulge their children more, especially the first-born, and openly show their pride in their infants by buying them toys, shoes, and attractive clothing. This is in sharp contrast with the older attitude of guarding children from the attention of others through fear of the "evil eye." Younger and more educated parents punish more lightly, permit more play, and send their children to school for as long as possible. The period of adolescence is becoming longer and more clearcut, and the time when youths are expected to contribute to the support of the family is often delayed by years of study. 177 855 [854] 177 [882]

Arranged marriages have completely disappeared and more couples are marrying for love. Church weddings have become more elaborate and expensive and are patterned after those of the urban middle class. Newlyweds try to set up independent households immediately after marriage or as soon as it is economically feasible to avoid the problems of living with mothers-in-law. Some young wives work as school teachers or shopkeepers, but this is still unusual. More couples are resorting to legal divorce rather than mere separation or abandonment. [58] [591] [462] [58] [566] [571]

A noticeable change has occurred also among the educated middle group